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"Right of inspection" exercised by the child's maternal kin. Father and mother's brother pray for the well-being of the child. 846
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According to Godefroy, immediately after the birth the husband's house is invaded by his wife's family, consisting of the child's mother's brother and her parents, to exercise the "right of inspection" over both mother and child in accordance with the rules of the matrilineal system. The father's brothers and their sons are not entirely excluded, since they too share the "right of inspection," though in a lesser degree and must exercise it with discretion.

If the child is a boy, and only then, a special rite occurs on the day after birth, in which the mother's brother takes a leading part. The father presents a fowl to the mother's brother, who takes it to his own Lodge, where it is cooked in a pudding. Then all the members of his Lodge together hold a feast of communion (*ghete-ghati*) with the ancestors, during which they recite a prayer. This prayer begins with the phrase "*Tamat wurogh*," which is the customary opening on all similar occasions. The word *tamat* means both "ghost" and "peace," and *wurogh* "to be quiet." The invocation may therefore be translated "Ancestors, peace, be quiet," meaning "Do not molest us, but listen to our prayer." This is then followed by a specific petition, which on this occasion begins "Here is a new child born to us," and goes on to ask the ancestors to look after it and let it grow up to be "first a youth (*malakel*) and in due time an honoured old man (*na-humbe*)."¹ 852

On the same or the next day, the mother's brother in return takes a fowl to the child's father, who cooks it in his Lodge, and in a similar manner, with the members of his Lodge, makes communion with his ancestors, begging them to let the boy grow up and become a *malakel* and then a *na-humbe*.

FIFTH DAY

(a) Naming the child.

The Fifth Day (*bong a-lim*) after birth is an important one, for on this day the child, whether boy or girl, receives its name, and the mother's brother his tribute of pigs. On the morning of this day the child is laid 852
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¹ This is the set formula. The ancestors are never asked to make the child into a *mer-isan* (see p. 529), the oldest age-grade of all, since this term is a purely descriptive one and does not carry the religious connotation connected with *na-humbe* (see also p. 529).

For other instance of the use of the invocation *tamat wurogh* see p. 557. The phrase is used throughout the Small Islands.

Instances of similar prayers offered by the wife's brother to her deceased father (or father's father) in Lagalag and to her deceased mother or father's mother in Lambumbu are given by Deacon (4, pp. 237-8), though in this case they are offered during the seventh and eighth months of pregnancy and the object of the prayer is the safety not of the as yet unborn child but of the mother. The brother so praying is rewarded for his good offices by payment of a pig. The communion rite includes the cooking of a fowl and exchange visits between the wife's brother and the father as on Vao.

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553 on a mat (*beturu*),¹ on which it is lifted up by 4 of the mother's attendants, one holding each corner of the mat. Yet another woman (probably the midwife), having lit a stick of erythrina wood (*na-rar*)² at a man's fire,³ holds it underneath the child "to make it strong." Then they carry the child, still on the mat, and place its feet close up to a fruit tree, which may be of any kind, such as *tawò* or *nara*, and while in this position the 4 women call out its name, which has already been decided on by common consent. I received no explanation as to why the child's feet should be placed close to a fruit tree, but a similar rite, also unexplained, in which two trees are concerned, has been reported by Deacon from North-West Malekula.⁴ Both rites almost certainly have to do with growth. The importance of the number 4, emphasised in Vao by the 4 women who carry the child, is in Deacon's account shown by the fact that, though only one person carries the child, the whole process of being passed over the fire and touching the trees is repeated 4 times.⁵ In both cases the rite is a public one, and any men who wish may be present.

Examples of boys' untitled names are Rangon, meaning "Branch," or Tur, in anticipation of the time when he will be able to stand (*tur*). Other such names may be seen in the genealogy on p. 587 and in the Appendix on pp. 747 ff. Girls' names are all prefixed by the syllable *Le-*,⁶ followed by names similar to the boys', e.g. *Le-tur*, "she who can stand," or *Le-memen*, "she with the tongue (*memen*)."⁷ Later, as we have already seen in the account of the Maki rites, these names in the case of both boys and girls are changed many times during their lifetime on the occasion of the numerous re-birth rites.

(b) *Paying the mother's brother for the child.*

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431 The naming rite is, as a rule, immediately followed by the important ceremony of paying the mother's brother for the child. This is called *ra voli ghini*, "we pay for it" (meaning the child). We have already seen how, in the case of a boy, the mother's brother offers prayers to the ancestors for the child's welfare. Now, after the naming rite, the mother's brother comes to the father's house, and, if the child is an eldest son, the father hands over to him five or six valuable live pigs or, in the case of a daughter or subsequent son, rather less. These pigs are called *e hu-hu ni*,

¹ Atchin *borot won*.

² The tree that blossoms with a red flower after its leaves have fallen, and is important in calendrical calculations and in the Maki (see p. 430).

³ The stick is lighted at a man's fire in the case of a girl as well as for a boy.

⁴ Deacon, 4, pp. 239-40.

⁵ In Mota before the birth of a first-born child 4 male relatives are invited and transactions occur involving the exchange of 4 (sometimes 8) fathoms of shell-money. On the Twentieth Day after the birth 4 women assemble, who sit in a ring and the child is passed round the circle 4 times, each woman holding it for a moment on each of these 4 occasions (Rivers, 1, vol. 1, pp. 146-8).

⁶ Compare Mota *Ro-*, used in the same way (see Codrington, 3, pp. 37, 38).

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"she suckles it," meaning that with this price the father pays his wife's brother for the labour the wife has had in suckling his own child. In this way the father indemnifies the mother's patrilineal descent-group for the loss it has suffered through her marriage into another village and the fact that the child now belongs not to the mother's village and clan but to the father's. The fact that the transaction is one affecting not only the individuals immediately concerned but also the whole structure of society is marked by the fact that the mother's brother does not come alone but is accompanied by all the men of his village or Lodge, and that they bring with them message-yams adorned with croton (*ro sar*) and hibiscus (*hakaul*) leaves. When they leave, the child's father in the same way presents them with message-yams similarly adorned.

Though this rite of "buying" a man's child from his wife's family is properly done as described on the Fifth Day, if the father has not a sufficient number of pigs of the requisite grades at his immediate disposal the payment may be postponed till the Thirtieth Day, when the mother first takes the child to the mainland and, if the child is an eldest son, other and much more spectacular rites take place.¹

TENTH DAY

Mother goes to shore to wash.

On the Tenth Day after the birth of her child the mother goes down to the shore to wash, and at the same time throws away the leaves, hitherto preserved, with which she has wiped away the child's excrement. It will be remembered that on this day she may also, if the father wishes, deposit the stump of the umbilical cord in a *na-lil* shell in a hole in the reef.

THIRTIETH DAY

Mother takes child to mainland.

On the Thirtieth Day the mother, who up till now has remained at home except for the purposes of washing and defaecation, takes the child for the first time to the mainland. The mother's brother may also be paid for the child on this day if the father has not enough pigs with which to pay him on the Fifth.²

¹ Nowadays it appears it may be postponed even later. Godefroy (1, 1933, p. 111) gives a circumstantial account of the payment for two children at once, when the wife was far from satisfied with the price paid by her husband and signified her displeasure by camping for a month to stay with her brother.

² The Fifth, Tenth and Thirtieth Days after birth are each the occasion of important rites in South Raga. The woman's "purification" lasts for a month, after which she leaves the village for the first time and goes down to the shore (Tattevin, 1, 1948, p. 400).

In Vao and the other Small Islands this thirty-day period of retreat is repeated symbolically both by the Maki-men immediately after their re-birth (see pp. 399, 402) and in the thirty-day period of seclusion during the rite of Initiation into Manhood (see pp. 510, 521).

AUTHORITY OF THE MOTHER'S PEOPLE

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574 According to Godefroy, during the whole of this period and during the next few months the mother's people continue at frequent intervals to invade the father's house, whence they visit the women's lodge in the exercise of their "right of inspection" over the mother and child. In the special case cited by him, when the child, in this case a girl, was about three or four months old the mother took it for a short stay in her parents' village, returning with presents of food.¹

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604 Henceforth "it is the mother's side of the family that exercises all authority over the children. The mother's eldest brother is in fact the legal 'father,'² and it is him that the children call *tete*, the word used elsewhere for 'father.'³ The lack of social respect paid to the real father is shown by the fact that he is actually called by his own children by his personal name, not only in address, but even when his children are speaking of him to others."⁴ Thus also "until *he* is married, a boy regards the family of the mother as his own true family. . . . When the child finds the parental scoldings irksome, he takes refuge with his mother's brother, and may even stay with him several months until his anger cools."⁵ The rôle of the mother's brother in this respect is described as one of "guardianship and moderation."⁶

SPECIAL RITES WITH REGARD TO THE ELDEST SON

852 In addition to the rites described above there are two special rites connected with the birth and dedication of an eldest son. As in the more aristocratic sections of our own society in which primogeniture is a recognised institution, so also in Vao considerable emphasis is laid on the position of the eldest son. Thus, in the tale dealing with the foundation of the Vao Maki, To-wewe, the founder, was one of ten brothers, of whom he himself was the eldest.⁷ The pattern of ten brothers is a common one throughout Malekula, closely associated with the decimal arrangement of upright stones on the Upper Side of the dancing-ground during High Maki and of the corresponding sacrificial stakes during Low Maki. It will be seen later how during High Maki each tenth stone may be furnished with a shrine.⁸ In Atchin such an arrangement has been stabilised to the extent that the division of each village into Quarters has disappeared and has been replaced by a division into ten families, each

¹ Godefroy, 1, 1933, pp. 111-12.

² This of course only means that he exercises certain rights elsewhere exercised by the father.

³ But see p. 127. The term of reference for the mother's brother is *sogut*.

⁴ Godefroy, *ibid.* p. 109.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 111.

⁶ *Ibid.* p. 114.

⁷ See p. 284.

⁸ See p. 425.

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having its own Lodge and each being responsible for one shrine. This is in turn mirrored in mythology, in the persons of ten mythical brothers of whom many tales are told in Atchin and in many other parts of Malekula having a similar decimal division of society. These ten brothers in the mythology of Malekula replace the twelve brothers known in that of the Banks Islands, of whom the eldest was Qat. 852

In these mythological cycles it is sometimes the eldest brother who is the hero, but more often the youngest, by which means, since these tales are often very humorous and not too seriously taken, the natives compensate in imagination for the preponderating influence that the eldest brother exercises in actual life.¹ The same compensatory symbolism occurs also in mythical or semi-mythical accounts involving only two brothers, in which, as in the story of the foundation of the Vao village of Peter-ihi given on p. 79, it is more usually the younger brother who carries off the prize.

Eldest brother called "head of the yam," youngest "base of the yam."

It is thus not surprising to find that, as in our own society, there are special terms not only for the senior brother (the heir) but also for the junior brother (the cadet), though of the two it is only the eldest who is officially recognised in the social order, and the intermediate brothers of a large family are all classed together as an undifferentiated group. 573 852

In Vao a whole family of children is figuratively thought of as a yam (*ram*), since, like this staple article of food on which the life of the community primarily depends, it must be tended with great care and labour but amply repays the energy expended on it. Thus, the eldest son is called *bete-ram*, "head of the yam," the youngest is called *kere-ram*, "base of the yam," each of which terms is regarded as a single word and so not needing a definite article before the word *ram*, but all intermediate sons are lumped together and referred to by the phrase *lugha na-ram*, "middle of the yam," which, as it is a phrase and not one word, needs the insertion of the article *na*.²

Office of "eldest son" a patrilineal institution which must be ritually conferred.

In spite of the strong matrilineal element in the kinship system, the title and office of the "eldest son" is, as with us, a patrilineal institution conferred on the eldest son of the father only, but not necessarily on that of the mother. Thus, if a man has two wives, whichever bears him a son first, that son will be the *bete-ram*; the first son of the second wife will no

¹ Compare also the marriage of Tikitiki with the younger of two sisters, recounted on p. 581.

² The corresponding terms in North Raga recorded by Rivers (1, vol. I, p. 196) are: eldest son, *tuagai* (allied to *tuaga*, term of respect throughout the New Hebrides, often used for "elder brother" (m.s.) or "elder sister" (w.s.); compare Vao *tutu*, *loghak*); youngest son, *vabuehui*; intermediate sons, *lologi*, meaning "middle."

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593 longer have any claim to the title. If, on the other hand, a woman bears
852 a *bete-ram* to a man, and this man dies, and she marries a second husband
to whom she bears his first son, then this boy is the second husband's
bete-ram.

Though the position of the eldest son is in this respect similar to that occupied by the eldest son in our own aristocratic society, it differs from this in that in Vao *bete-ram* is an official title which, though unofficially applied from the moment of birth, does not become inalienable till the performance of a special rite called *va-vaghal-ran*, described below.¹ This constitutes the *bete-ram*'s official dedication. Without this rite there can be no title. There is, however, always the possibility that if unduly delayed the eldest son will die before the rite has been performed. In this case the actual first-born will never become a *bete-ram* at all, and the rite will then be carried out for the father's second son, who will become the official *bete-ram*. If, on the other hand, the boy dies *after* the dedication rite, no subsequent son can achieve the title. The rite has been done once for all, and cannot be repeated. In this way the status of *bete-ram* differs from that of the European "heir," and it would almost seem as if in this respect the title had reference to a future life in which it is clear that no two people could hold the same position.

Eldest son (or daughter) may not be adopted.

[597] As it affects this life and the social organisation of the island one notable result is that, among a people with whom adoption into another family is not uncommon, a *bete-ram* once dedicated as such may not be adopted.²

A man's eldest daughter is called *bete-ram vavine*, "female *bete-ram*," but this is, so far as I know, only a complimentary title entailing no dedication rite and no official rejoicings, though, like the male *bete-ram*, she also may not be adopted.

THE RITES

(a) *At birth. Raiding the father's house.*

852 Though the official dedication of an eldest son does not occur till some time after birth, there is, however, a preliminary act of acclamation on the day when he is born, which takes the form of a wholesale raid on the father's premises. When the conch-shell trumpet is blown announcing that the child is a boy, if this boy is the father's eldest son all who hear it break into his house-enclosure, and even into his house (though not into that of the child's mother), and steal anything they can find. This is a recognised procedure with a special name called *ghoro ne-ime*, "raiding the house," and is done only in the case of an eldest son. Like many

¹ See p. 183.

² See p. 188.

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other originally serious performances, however, it has become more ritual than real, my informant telling me with a grin that the father will usually have had the sense to hide anything really valuable that he does not wish to be stolen in the bush or in some other safe place, and to put out a few yams and money-mats in prominent places for the raiders to take.

(b) *Va-vaghal-ean*. Dedication, accompanied by sham fight.

The raiding described above, though expressive of public rejoicing at the birth of an eldest son, does not yet constitute the boy as an official *bete-ram*. This is accomplished by the rite called *va-vaghal-ean*, reduplicated nominal form of the verb *vaghal*, "to fight," referring to the sham fight which constitutes the rite. This may be held on any day, from the day after birth to two or even three years after, the length of time elapsing depending on the father's wealth in money-mats, one of which he is bound to present not only to the participants but also to any onlooker who may choose to be present.

The function takes place on the dancing-ground, and opens with the sham fight, in which parties from each Vao village in turn ritually attack the members of the father's village. If the father is a Pete-hul man, all the men of this village will assemble, and the first attack will come from the men of its twin-village, Togh-vanu. The missiles used on both sides are wild oranges (*na-mul*). After an exchange of shots the attackers sit down with the hosts and await the next onslaught. Parties from the remaining Vao villages then attack one by one, in any order, and not in the fixed rotation prescribed in the Maki and other rites. As each party launches its attack, both the attackers and the defenders (the hosts) sing the song sung by To-wewe, founder of the Vao Maki and himself an eldest son, when with his sister-wife he was about to "sacrifice" the two hundred half-kernels of *tawò* nuts till interrupted by their father, who first taught them to sacrifice tusked boars. As will be seen below,¹ the meaning of this song is "the folk of some places are always fighting; I do not want to fight," and indicates the substitution of the sacrifice of boars for human sacrifice which is the essential feature of all forms of the Maki rite.

After all the sham fights are over, the dedication of the new *bete-ram* is sealed by the sacrifice of a single tusked boar (of what grade I did not record) which is then given to the members of one of the other villages (not especially that of the mother) to eat. Yams are laid out in heaps for all those who have taken part, and each participant in the rite, as well as each onlooker, is presented with a money-mat. Proceedings end with the sounding of the sacrificial signal on the gongs in honour of the tusked boar and, through him, of the now officially recognised "eldest son."

¹ See 285.

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Godfrey's version of sham fight includes dedication as warrior.

852 Godfrey, writing nearly twenty years later, briefly mentions this ritual battle, which he calls *vagalian*. His version differs in several respects from mine, and is therefore worth quoting. He says: "As soon as the news of the birth of a son is spread, all the men of middle age, youths and grown boys meet the next morning on the dancing-ground, and a 'small war' begins. The small boys provide the missiles, banyan fruits, nuts of various kinds, green citrons, little oranges, yellow lemons, etc. . . . such as are to be found in groves planted by the side of each ground. A family combat is then held between those in the fifties and the younger members of the clan, during which each hit is greeted with cheers. This play lasts the whole morning, and when the battle is over the clan counts another warrior . . . , a warrior of tender years, it is true, but one who, like the little fish, will grow also if his relatives vigilantly combat the sorcery that will be levelled at him with stronger spells.

" . . . It is easy to understand, from this, how much the birth of a male child is prized; joy radiates from every face, hope is reborn among the elders in seeing their lineage increased with yet another warrior; despite all, the clan will remain strong and able to defend itself against all comers." ¹

Comparative survey showing transformation of the rite from one having to do with kinship to one having to do with war.

While there is no doubt about the atmosphere of rejoicing that accompanies the mock battle, there are several signs that in other respects the rite has changed character considerably during the past twenty years. In the first place, the mock battle itself appears to have lost much, if not all, of its character as a contest between villages (i.e. groups of persons standing in a definite kinship relation one to the other). In the second place, it now seems to take place at the birth of any son, not only the eldest. In the third place, there is the very definite indication that the present object of the rite is to create a new "warrior."

A survey of comparative evidence from neighbouring cultures does, in fact, show that the rite is in process of completely changing its character from one which in the first place was concerned solely with problems of kinship to one in which the uppermost idea is that of introducing the boy into the ritual life of men by allowing him to make his first public sacrifice and at the same time instructing him in the art of war.

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171 As with so many of the rites in this borderland between areas of predominately matrilineal and of predominately patrilineal descent, the geographical distribution of cognate rites taken from north to south at the same time represents the course of its development from its original to its later form.

¹ Godfrey, 1, 1933, p. 40.

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(a) *Banks Islands (general).*

Let us first take Codrington's account of the corresponding rite held in connexion with the birth of an eldest son in the Banks Islands. He says: "There is raised upon that event, a noisy playful fight, *vagalo*, after which the father buys off the assailants with payment of money to the other ~~side~~ [matrilineal moiety], to kinsmen, that is, of the child and his mother." It will be noted that the word *vagalo* is the same, allowing for dialectical variation, as the Vao word *va-vaghal-ean*, and his comment on the meaning of the rite is that "it is hardly possible to be mistaken in taking this fight to be a ceremonial, if playful, assertion of the claim of the mother's kinsfolk to the child as one of themselves, and the father's payment to be the quieting of their claim and the securing of his own position as head of his own family."¹

(b) *Motlav.*

In the account given above, Codrington does not refer specifically to any particular district in the Banks Islands. Rivers, on the other hand, differentiates between the practice followed in the island of Motlav and that followed in Mota, slightly further south. In Motlav, the child remains in the house, and it is conspicuously the father only who stands at the door and is pelted by the mother's brothers with fruit, after which he pays them with shell money.² This proves beyond question the correctness of Codrington's interpretation.

(c) *Mota.*

It has been seen that there is in Motlav no question of the child itself being put through any kind of initiatory rite, whether as an introduction to warfare or anything else, the issue being one solely between the mother's brothers and the father. In Mota, however, a new element is introduced. The rite here is called *kalo vagalo*. "A little bow is put into the hands of the child and a woman stands with the child in her arms at the door of the house. All the . . . maternal uncles of the child collect outside and shoot at the woman and child with blunted arrows or throw lemons at them. The woman moves the child about so as to diminish the chance of its being struck, and after a time the father puts an end to the business by paying money to the uncles."³

(d) *Atchin.*

So much for the rite as held in the predominately matrilineal area north of Vao. If we now turn to the predominately patrilineal Small Islands immediately to the south, we find, in Atchin, a rite called *wahalen*, again corresponding with the Vao *va-vaghal-ean* and held, as in

¹ Codrington, 3, p. 231.² Rivers, 1, vol. I, p. 146.³ Rivers, 1, vol. I, p. 149.

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171 all the above cases, only at the birth of an eldest son, in which considerable changes have occurred. For here, though the element of the sham fight persists, the chief emphasis is laid on the boy's dedication as a warrior. For this reason the rite is put off till he is himself capable of carrying a bow and arrow, that is to say, as nearly as I could compute, till he is about ten years old. The father's house is indeed raided, but this time by the women, who throw water over his bed and for some reason also over one another's. A very modified form of sham fight is carried out at sea between boys and girls ranged on opposing sides, and includes a kind of introduction to seafaring, the eldest son in whose honour the rite is held being placed in a canoe; but the original meaning of the rite is maintained in the fact that he is himself the only member of the conflicting parties who takes no part in the fight. The mother's brothers are indeed paid, but only with mats (poor payment, since here mats are so much more inferior as currency to pigs), and the position to which even they have sunk is shown in the fact that they too are at one moment soused by the women with water while, by a curious reversal of rôles owing to the transformation of the sham fight into a sex battle, they are now themselves actually protected by the fathers. The most complete break-away from the original meaning of the rite occurs, however, when the eldest son, forsaking his passive rôle, for the first time in his life sacrifices a boar in the dancing-ground, and hands it over to his own mother's brother to eat.¹

(e) *Wala*.

In the Small Island of Wala, the next further south, somewhat similar rites are carried out, but this time it is the boy's mother herself who is pelted with missiles while bathing, and the rite is no longer called by any term comparable to the Vao *va-vaghal-een* but is on the contrary called *melarum*, the name of the dance-cycle performed during the rites, and is itself regarded as a kind of preliminary step giving the right to participate in the Maki.²

(f) *Matanavat*.

A sham fight on the lines described for Vao has been reported as forming part of the rites gone through at the birth of a "chief's" eldest son at Matanavat on the north coast of Malekula.³

(g) *South Raga; S.W. and N.W. Malekula*.

Further south, in South Raga, where overt patrilineal descent is balanced by a very strong matrilineal element, special payments are made to the mother's brothers at the birth of an eldest son, but no sham fight

¹ For a full account of this rite in its proper setting see future volume on Atchin.

² For a full account see future volume.

³ Harrison, 2, p. 42.

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has been recorded; ¹ nor is there any record of a sham fight in the detailed accounts given by Deacon of birth rites in the still more predominately patrilineal districts of South-West and North-West Malekula. ²

(h) Conclusion regarding Vao.

There is thus little doubt that the institution of the sham fight over the first-born on Vao, however elaborate it may have become, and in spite of its present use as a dedication rite, had its origin not in the desire to create a warrior, but in the rising power of patrilineal descent still ritually resented by the representatives of the old matriarchal system whom the father still has to indemnify with gifts. Like all rites in the Small Islands, however, it has been transformed by the natives' genius for the creation of dramatic situations into an occasion for fun and display.

ADOPTION

The practice of adoption is very widespread in the New Hebrides and Banks Islands, where in some districts it is carried out in such an extreme form that parents are often powerless to prevent their own new-born child from being adopted at birth even against their own will. No adequate explanation for this to us extraordinary custom has so far been put forward. Rivers ingeniously supposes a previous state of sexual communism among the matrilineal peoples of this area leading to community of children, coupled with the later immigration of a patrilineal people arriving by sea without womenkind and therefore having to assert their right to their own children by wholesale adoption. ³ This theory contains a number of assumptions for which no evidence exists. There is no evidence for the existence of sexual communism nor yet for any lack of women among the patrilineal immigrants, and still less for the lack of "natural" ties between parents and children which he admits that such a theory implies. There is, however, a certain "community" of children in the sense expressed among all primitive peoples by the classificatory system of kinship, namely that the strength of the immediate family tie is modified in a way that does not happen with us by the strong bonds existing between members of the same clan. These bonds vary in strength inversely in proportion to the size of the clan, and in small communities such as those of the New Hebrides are very strong indeed. In this respect Rivers is right in assuming a certain "community" of children. He is right also with regard to the comparatively recent introduction of patrilineal influence. There is no need, however, to seek further and largely hypothetical explanations, for what he does not perceive is that the whole practice of adoption in the extreme form in which it occurs in these islands

¹ Tattevin, 1, 1926, p. 400.

² Rivers, 1, vol. 11, pp. 136-40, 400-3.

³ Deacon, 4, Chapter IX.

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women became excluded, and by which incest (represented by copulation with the mother) in some form was abandoned; though it will be noted that there seems to have been no objection to To-wewe marrying his sister. 773

In the second place, there is the obvious connexion with mortuary rites, since the hero dies a voluntary death, presumably with the intention of being re-born.

Thirdly, there is the very remarkable mode of sepulture, in an upright hollow tree, recalling the tree-trunk burial of Attis and Osiris, while at the same time the tree chosen for this is that commonly used for making sea-going canoes, recalling many instances of burial in canoes throughout the islands.

Fourthly, there is the identification between the man and his tusked boar, which we have already seen to play such an important part in bringing about the identification between a man and the Guardian Ghost. It will be noted that the boar in question was a circle-tusker, which indicates that the event was comparatively recent.

Fifthly, the rite is definitely connected with ideas concerning the importance of the eldest son.

In the sixth place, it again emphasises the connexion between the newer form of the rite and the decimal system, the ten sons corresponding to the ten shrines erected in the later forms of Maki now practised on Atchin, together with the division of each village on that island into ten families each of whom is responsible for one shrine, and in the corresponding mythology concerning the ten grandsons of Le-saw-saw the Guardian Ghost.

OCCASIONS ON WHICH TO-WEWE'S SONG IS SUNG

(a) Vao

The song sung by To-wewe and his sister-wife, both when about to sacrifice the 100 twin-kernels and again when he enters on his voluntary death, is sung today on Vao on the occasion of the following *rites de passage*: 533 852

(a) During the mock battle that accompanies the celebration of the birth of an eldest son.¹ 764 184

(b) On the eve of the rites called *matean*, observed for the death of an old man prior to a dramatic scene in which the dead man is impersonated by a kinsman entering the hut built over his tomb and holds converse with the living, telling them that the dead man has returned to his mother's village.²

(b) Wala

The song is known also in other parts of the Small Islands. In Wala it is sung on the supreme occasion when a super-circle-tusker is consecrated for sacrifice at the Maki, clearly connecting this rite with To- 533 184

¹ See p. 183.

² See p. 346.